



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

VOLUME XXXII

OCTOBER 1915

NUMBER 1

THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

By H. E. WINLOCK
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The following notes on the topography of Thebes have been made in connection with the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Its work during the past three seasons has brought to light several tombs of the Middle Kingdom in the Assâsîf-Deir el Bahri valley which were so plundered and so often reoccupied that on internal evidence alone it was difficult to fix the exact date of their original occupation. Attention was turned, therefore, to a tentative reconstruction of the general history of the whole Middle Kingdom Necropolis, for a working scheme in which to place the Assâsîf tombs. These notes have gradually gone somewhat beyond the original intention, but they remain still only a working scheme subject to revision at the conclusion of the excavations which have been in progress in recent years. While on many points it is impossible to come to definitely demonstrable conclusions, still the publication of any material on this subject seems to me to be justified by the fact that the study of the growth of the Theban Necropolis through the successive periods of its history has not been developed of late as consistently as it deserves.

At present it is impossible to carry this study back beyond the First Theban Period, as Thebes of the Memphite Period remains in obscurity. Practically nothing is known of the town, and as only

two tombs¹ have yet been discovered which can be assigned to the Old Kingdom with any probability, there is little to be learned about the earliest necropolis.

THE ELEVENTH-DYNASTY KINGS

To understand the necropolis during the First Theban Period a digression will be necessary on the history of the Eleventh Dynasty. Many of the most important documents on this period are recent discoveries and their interpretation has not yet crystallized into a universally accepted one. The most noteworthy contributions in this line have been those of Naville, Meyer, and Breasted, but as none appear to me wholly to fit the physical facts in the necropolis as we know them at present, it seems worth while to attempt an arrangement differing in some details from any which I have seen so far.


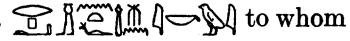



The history of the Eleventh Dynasty falls naturally into three periods: the first, during which the members of the family were merely local Theban princes; the second, while they claimed kingship over Upper Egypt; and the third, from the final overthrow of the Heracleopolitan Kings and the subjugation of Middle and Lower Egypt, to the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Of the first period, we can reconstruct the history in a general way but still have a great deal of trouble in filling in the details. At the outset of the Tenth, Heracleopolitan, Dynasty it is reasonable to suppose that the sovereignty of the Middle Egyptian Kings was recognized, at least nominally, by all Upper Egypt including Thebes. As in Siut, so in Upper Egypt, the leading families of each district held the hereditary office of nomarch among their members. Thebes was ruled by a family in which the name Intef was borne by generation after generation, and which seems to have been endowed with the same vigor and initiative which made the Theban rulers of some five centuries later the spokesmen of their neighbors in the wars of liberation against the Hyksos. While Siut remained the bulwark

¹ Nos. 185 and 186 in Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, both on the eastern end of the Khôkheh; in the map, Fig. 1, marked "O.K. Tombs." No. 186, that of Ihy a nomarch (of Thebes?), was discovered by Newberry and described by him in the *Annales*, IV, 97. The suggestion made by Hall and King, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 320, that many of the tombs on Sheikh Abd el Kurneh are Old Kingdom ones re-used in the Empire, remains to be proved.

of the waning Heracleopolitan power, Upper Egypt as far south as Elephantine became firmly united under the hegemony of Thebes during the Tenth Dynasty, and rose in open revolt under one of the Theban nomarchs, Prince Intef.

From this period in the history of the Theban family we have at present the following names:

- (A) The Prince and Nomarch of Thebes Intef,  of Stela No. 1 below, on p. 13.
- (B) The Prince Intef-o, son of Ikui,  to whom a statue was dedicated by his descendant Sesostri I,¹ and whose name occurs on Stela No. 2 where mention is made of .
- (C) The Prince Intef,  placed by Thotmes III among his ancestors in the Karnak list.
- (D) The Prince of Upper Egypt Intef,  of Stela No. 3.

In spite of the generally accepted opinion I am inclined to regard the first name on the list, the Nomarch of Thebes Intef, as standing apart from the rest, first because I believe his stela is more primitive than those on which the other names occur; secondly because the title limits his hereditary domain to the Theban nome even though his administration went to the Cataract; and thirdly because he acknowledges an over-lord, and it hardly seems likely that he would be singled out for honors by Sesostri I and Thotmes III, unless, indeed, he were the actual founder of the line. In any case he may be regarded as one of the early Theban nomarchs, later probably than Ihy of Tomb 186, but still one of the faithful adherents of the Heracleopolitan house. However it seems probable to me that B and C, ancestors of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasty Kings, are one and the same person, who may be also D, and who would have been therefore the Prince of Upper Egypt Intef, or Intef-o, son of Ikui. If this be taken for granted we may see in him the originator of revolt against the Heracleopolitans, or its first successful leader, whose memory was cherished by Theban kings for at least seven centuries.

¹ Legrain, *Rec. Trav.*, XXII, 64, and *B.A.R.*, I, § 419.

Above, in sketching the history of the period, I have taken for granted that the nomarchs of Thebes were a local family, which seems justified until the contrary is proved conclusively. However the popularity of the cult of Montu, during the dynasty, has always suggested some connection between the Theban family and the ancient source of the cult of Montu, the nearby town of Hermonthis. The theory of a connection between the Eleventh Dynasty rulers and Hermonthis has taken two forms: the first, originating with Lange and Breasted, deriving the family from an ancestor Intef son of Mait who was supposed to be a Prince in Hermonthis; the second, that of Meyer, which takes the nomarch Ihy for a nomarch of Hermonthis and supposes Hermonthis to have been the capital, presumably, of the Theban nome between the Sixth and Eleventh dynasties.

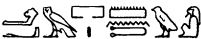


So far as I can see, Meyer's theory¹ rests on the invocation of Montu Lord of Hermonthis in the tomb of Ihy, but as Hathor Lady of Denderah is equally honored there the argument loses force. Moreover it is inconceivable that a nomarch who was buried in so small and insignificant a tomb as is that of Ihy should have gone to the trouble and expense of constructing his tomb at such a distance from his residence on a spot which, so far as we know, did not have any especial religious association in his day. On the contrary there is every reason to believe that the Old Kingdom notables of Hermonthis were buried in some of the cemeteries closely adjoining their town, just as the notables of Denderah were buried in the desert immediately beside theirs.

What we do learn from the tomb of Ihy is that by the end of the Old Kingdom the worship of Hathor Lady of Denderah and Montu Lord of Hermonthis existed in the neighboring town of Thebes. The local god, even as early as the Fourth Dynasty, was Amon,² but Montu had become so popular that on occasion he was even


¹ Meyer, *Geschichte*, 3d ed., I, 252-53.

² He occurs as such, if I remember rightly, in the triads from the Mycerinus Temple found by Reisner. Professor Breasted calls my attention to the occurrence of the name of Montu in the Pyramid Texts (oftener than that of Amon, who perhaps does not appear there at all) and suggests that there may have been an early political supremacy of Hermonthis to bring about this result. This seems quite possible, but it would belong to a period considerably earlier than the Intefs we are now considering, while the Pyramid Texts were still taking form.

called Lord of Thebes,¹ and in the Eleventh Dynasty there was a Temple of Montu in Thebes, the bread offerings from which were frequently referred to in the local stelae along with the offering tables in the Temple of Osiris.² The exact location of the temple we do not know as yet, but in all likelihood it should be looked for either at Medamut, where there was a Temple of Montu Lord of Medamut as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty,³ or more probably at Karnak on the site where Amenhotep III built his Temple of Montu, later restored by the Ptolemies. The cult of Hathor Lady of Denderah, also, had become so popular by the reign of Mentuhotep II that on one occasion the king even called himself her son instead of "Son of Re" in his royal titles,⁴ and so many of the ladies of the court interred around his pyramid were members of her priesthood that her worship became settled about their burial place at Deir el Bahri for centuries afterward.

In the case of Intef son of Maït there is a strong impression in my mind that his three stelae are not as early as that of the nomarch of Thebes Intef or of the stela which mentions Intef son of Ikui, but that they belong to a much later period in the dynasty, of which, therefore, he could not have been an ancestor.⁵ His connection with Hermonthis depends on Lange's translation of one of his titles  as "Prince in Hermonthis." In the first place while the early name of Hermonthis was  the name  is found most frequently at a much later period. Secondly,





¹ Lange-Schäfer, *Grab. und Denksteine des M.R.*, 20005.


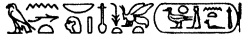
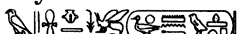
² The phrase  on Stela No. 2 of the list below, p. 13, appears at least in part on Stelae Nos. 7, 13, and 14C as part of the usual offering formula of the period.

³ Door-jambs of this temple were found by Daninos Pasha in 1914 in his excavations at Medamut.

⁴ Bissing-Bruckman, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 33a.

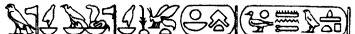

⁵ The stelae of Intef son of Maït are 14A-C in the list below, p. 16. Lange's translation of the title "Prince in Hermonthis" in *A.Z.*, 1896, p. 27, was adopted by Breasted (*Records*, I, § 419c and *History*, 2d ed., p. 149) who took this Intef for an ancestor of the family. This has been doubted by Meyer, *Geschichte*, 3d ed., I, 254, and Naville, *A.Z.*, 1912, p. 14, the latter suggesting that the mother Maït was a princess known in the Deir el Bahri Temple. Of this there is no proof.

⁶ Denderah was . To distinguish Hermonthis from Heliopolis the former was called  or  but these last two names must have been later than the Eleventh Dynasty as, I believe, was the name found in demotic papyri  from which the name Hermonthis was derived. See Brugsch, *Dict. Geogr.*, pp. 41 and 271, and Lange, *op. cit.*

a commanding personality whose name was honored throughout the Middle Kingdom and whose tomb was kept up as long as there were Theban monarchs—the Horus Wah-ankh Intef-o I. The revolt prospered, Intef I assumed many of the dignities and titles of a king—¹—although recognized only in Upper Egypt, and he carried the war aggressively against Khety II and Merikare, captured the nome of Thinis from them, and finally set his boundary as far north as the Serpent Nome near K̄au el Kebir.² At the end of a reign of at least 50 years Intef I was succeeded by his son the Horus Nekht Neb-tep-nefer Intef-o II³——who retained but does not appear to have enlarged his father's dominions during his own short reign, for a rebellion had to be subdued in Thinis as late as the fourteenth year of his successor, the Horus S-ankh-ib-tauī Mentuhotep I—⁴.


Wars had now been going on intermittently for three generations and the position of Thebes as chief town of Upper Egypt was assured. The control of the South and of the trade with the North had increased the wealth and power of the Theban family to such a point that finally it was in a position to overcome the dynasty of Heracleopolis and gain the whole of Egypt.

The third period of the Eleventh Dynasty has left more numerous and more important monuments than the earlier two, but owing to our unfortunate lack of any inscriptions overlapping from one reign to another the order of the kings is left in some uncertainty.

The most difficult problem in the history of the whole dynasty arises with the names  and  at the beginning of this period. Both names appear on parts of the temple at Deir el Baḥrī and it is there that the problem is best studied, in the shrine-like tombs of the

¹ Uniformity in the use of cartouches and the writing of kings' names did not prevail in the Eleventh Dynasty until its close. The names will be used here only in what seems to be the regular form.

² In addition to Breasted and Naville as cited above see Gardiner, *Jour. of Eg. Arch.*, I, 23, and Newberry, *P.S.B.A.*, XXXV, 120.

³ The name is written simply  on Stela No. 8 below.

⁴ Cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, for the rebellion of Thinis. That Intef II's reign was short may be reasonably inferred from the fact that at least two officials of his father lived to serve under his successor—see Stelae Nos. 9 and 10 below.

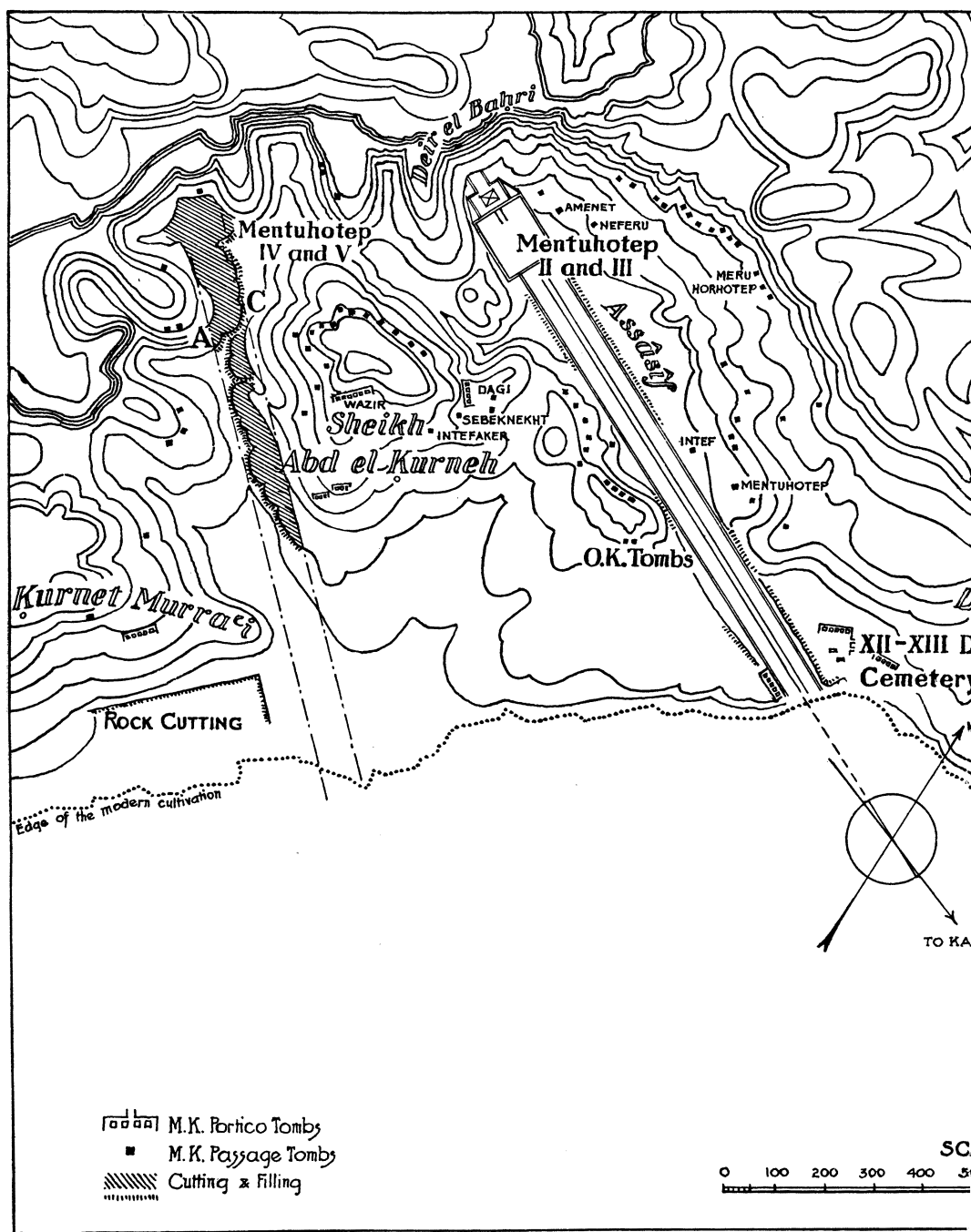
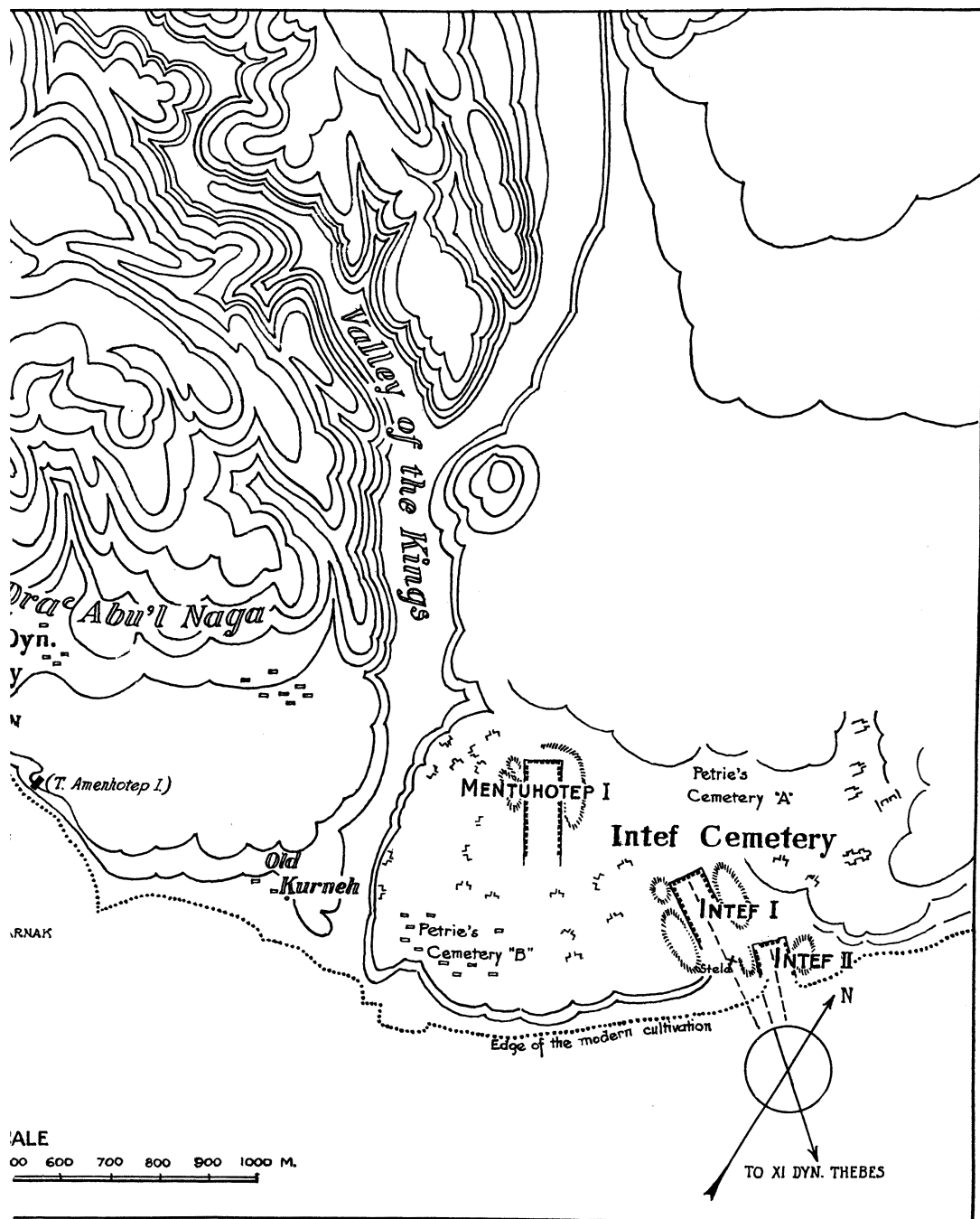





















FIG. 1.—Sketch Map of the Theba



n Necropolis in the Middle Kingdom

princesses of . Borchardt¹ first called attention to the fact that the constructions of  were built over and after the "shrines," and before I had learned of his article I had already come to the same conclusion independently. Naville, while admitting that the "shrines" and tombs of the period of  lie under the walls and columns of , supposes that the latter were removed temporarily to place the former under them.² Not only is this improbable, but the remains of the shrines still *in situ* show it to be impossible and that therefore  must belong before . Burchardt and Pieper³ make one king "116 Mentuhotep III" of the two names, and von Bissing⁴ sees in them one king whose original names were  but who changed his Horus name to  and spelled his prenomen  after he had united the Two Lands of Egypt. But on the other hand it is hard to overlook, first, the two distinct periods in the plan of the Eleventh Dynasty Deir el Bahri Temple, and the consistency with which the name  appears in the first and  in the second; second, that in this period of lax orthography of kings' names no confusion has ever been found between the two sets of names either at Deir el Bahri or anywhere else; and, third, that it is not absolutely certain that the two names  and  were identical in meaning and in sound in the Eleventh Dynasty. Although  and  may have been identical in sound in the Old Kingdom, at a later date  may have taken the value *h'p* while  retained the value *hpt* and this distinction may have been current in Thebes at the outset of the Middle Kingdom.⁵ If this be so, then Mentuhotep III took as a throne name one which, while not identical with that of his predecessor, was a sort of a pun on it. In any case the subject of the Kings  and  will remain a difficult one until either a confusion between the prenomen and Horus names of the two can be established as proving their identity, or a stela be found of an

¹ *Zeit. für Geschichte der Architektur*, III, 81. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, I, 257, uses these data and thereby arrives at conclusions similar to those proposed here.

² *A.Z.*, 1910, p. 85.

³ *Königsnamen*, pp. 23-24.

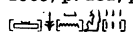
⁴ *Rec. Trav.*, XXXIII, 21 and 26, n. 2.

⁵ For this suggestion I have to thank Miss C. L. Ransom. Breasted, *History*, 2d ed., p. 598, has already recognized this distinction in the two names and has transliterated them *Nibhapetre* and *Nibhepetre*.

individual who served under both in succession as proving their duality. Believing that historical probability favors the latter solution I have adopted for the present a Neb-ḥapet-re Mentuhotep II and a Neb-ḥepet-re Mentuhotep III, but I realize there is a possibility of their identity until two royal burial places can be established at Deir el Baḥri.¹

The arrangement of the third period of the Eleventh Dynasty suggested here differs from Breasted's in the position assigned to Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep IV. In his first arrangement he placed Neb-taui-re at the end of the dynasty after S-ankh-ka-re to fill an apparent lacuna in the Turin Papyrus,² and since then he has placed him between Mentuhotep II and III.³ Definite data on the position of this king are lacking, but there is a strong probability against placing him between the two builders of the Deir el Baḥri Temple because his name occurs there but once,⁴ and it is to be expected that he would have left more impress on a building begun by his predecessor and finished by his successor. If we place Neb-taui-re after Mentuhotep III⁵ we find that this order fits in very well with the fact that Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep celebrated a Sed Jubilee in his second year. This allows us to take him for a son of Mentuhotep III,⁶ who was associated with his father as co-regent in or after the latter's eighteenth year, depending on how many years more than forty-six the father reigned.⁷ I have, therefore, followed the usual arrangement of the dynasty which places S-ankh-ka-re at the end.

¹ The total number of kings in the dynasty as given by the Turin Papyrus being either 6 or 7, no information is available there. See next note.

² *Am. Jour. of Sem. Lang.*, XXI, 113 and 165, and *Records*, I, § 415. Sethe, *Ä.Z.*, 1905, p. 131, proved there was no lacuna at this point, but that the signs were to be read  — "together six kings." Equally well it may be "seven kings." No other numerals except these two are possible, however.

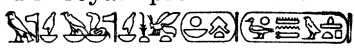
³ *History of Egypt*, 2d ed., pp. 52 and 598.

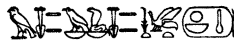
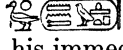
⁴ Naville, *op. cit.*, I, 8.

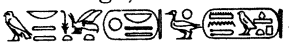
⁵ This is the order adopted by Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, I, 260. The Intef of Shat er Rigaleh, often regarded as a successor of Mentuhotep III (cf. Burchardt and Pieper, *Königsnamen*, No. 117), was not, I believe, a Theban king at all, but a vassal. Naville takes him for a son of Mentuhotep III who did not live to reign (*op. cit.*, I, 7). Sethe's idea that he was Wah-ankh Intef I (*Ä.Z.*, 1905, p. 133) and his consequent reconstruction of the dynasty rest on a mistaken reading of the incomplete prenomen of Mentuhotep I for that of Mentuhotep V.

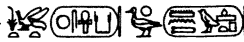
⁶ Naville, *op. cit.*, I, 7, notes a son of Mentuhotep III named Mentuhotep.

⁷ *B.A.R.*, I, § 418e.

Briefly told, the history of the third period of the Eleventh Dynasty was about as follows.¹ The turning-point in the fortunes of Thebes came with the successful conclusion of the war against Heracleopolis in the time of Neb-ḥapet-re Mentuhotep II, whose sovereignty over the whole of Egypt is reflected in the full royal protocol with two cartouches which he adopted . Something of provincialism and even of barbarism is reflected in the monuments of this first Theban king, but he ruled all Egypt energetically from the new capital Thebes, he waged war victoriously against both Egyptians and foreigners, he built temples, among other places at Gebelein, and for his tomb erected a pyramid and its dependencies at Deir el Baḥri on a more magnificent scale than his predecessors had ever attempted.

His successor Neb-ḥapet-re Mentuhotep III   in a long reign of nearly half a century surpassed even his immediate predecessor and established the power of the Theban family so firmly that his memory was held in great veneration until the end of the Empire as the greatest benefactor of Thebes in the Eleventh Dynasty. The arts lost much of their provincialism in Upper Egypt and the family mausoleum at Deir el Baḥri was enlarged until nearly all trace of its founder's plan disappeared.

Mentuhotep III's son, associated with him as co-regent early in his reign, succeeded to the throne as Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep IV——and, ambitious of excelling his father, sent immediately to the Wadi Hammamat for stone for his sarcophagus, but, being presumably past middle age, died soon after his accession.

His successor S-ankh-ka-re Mentuhotep V——was a king of more importance whose reign may have lasted long enough to justify his celebration of a Sed Jubilee² and whose fame warranted the inclusion of his name in the Sakkara and Abydos Lists by the Memphite chroniclers of the Empire. Everything that remains of these last four Mentuhoteps shows them to have been kings of undisputed power throughout all Egypt, in control of all

¹ Compare Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 1st and 2d eds.

² See Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 6.

the resources of the country, and in a position to raise large levies of *corvée* labor for their building operations. On the extinction of the line of the Intefs and the Mentuhoteps with the death of S-ankh-ka-re, there arose a new royal family headed by Amenemhat I whose throne name, S-hotep-ib-re, was adopted in conscious imitation of that of his predecessor. The new family was Theban in origin, but ruled the country for political reasons from Lisht where the new royal cemetery was established.

Before passing to a review of the monuments in the Theban Necropolis left by the Eleventh Dynasty rulers, it may be convenient to give a list of the latter in the order proposed above:

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Nomarch of Thebes Intef. | |
| Prince Intef son of Ikui, | |
| Prince Intef (of the Karnak List), | } possibly one person. |
| Prince of Upper Egypt Intef, | |

Horus Wah-ankh Intef I.
 Horus Nekht Neb-tep-nefer Intef II.
 Horus S-ankh-ib-taui Mentuhotep I.

Neb-ḥapet-re Mentuhotep II.
 Neb-ḥepet-re Mentuhotep III.
 Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep IV.
 S-ankh-ka-rè Mentuhotep V.

THE INTEF CEMETERY

The cemetery of the early part of the Eleventh Dynasty has long been known, but the fact has frequently been lost sight of in late years. As long ago as 1835 Wilkinson recognized that the earliest tombs were north of Old Kurneh.¹ There Mariette found the stelae of the nomarch Intef and of Intef I, but he unfortunately stated their provenance to be Dra' Abu'l Naga, with unfortunate results as we shall see. Maspero recovered part of the stela of Intef I and later Daressy recovered more of it and other stelae from the site, the location of which he fixed accurately. Based on their work is

¹ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 125. The site is marked "Intef Cemetery" on the map, Fig. 1. Locally the plain is called *et Taraf*—"the end"—as Mr. Carter has told me. The term "Antef Cemetery" originated with Petrie, who recognized its period, but not its royal character.

Maspero's small, but very useful, map,¹ with the Middle Kingdom burial places correctly located as far as they were then known; but Schweinfurth does not seem to have been familiar with this information as on his map the Intef Cemetery is marked "Gesellschaftsgräber (griech. röm. Epoche)."² The excavations of this site on the largest scale up to the present have been those of Petrie,³ but even his work covered only a small proportion of its extent and, moreover, he makes no mention of the work of his predecessors nor of the gigantic *saffs* which are the most characteristic features of the place, and which prove to be of great importance. Up to the present the majority of the antiquities which come from this cemetery are from native plundering and the average visitor to Thebes remains in ignorance of its location.

I believe that the reason why the actual position of the Intef Cemetery has not been more generally recognized is due to the common practice, originating with Mariette, of describing the antiquities from the site as coming from Dra' Abu'l Naga. In reality the Intef Cemetery lies in the plain north and east of the mouth of the Valley of the Kings, while properly speaking the Dra' Abu'l Naga is the hill between the latter and the Assâsif (see the map, Fig. 1). From this unfortunate use of the name of the hill, applied to the plain, a good deal of confusion has resulted. For instance, from the Abbot Papyrus Intef I is known to have had a pyramid; his stela is said to have come from Dra' Abu'l Naga, and on the hill of that name there are the ruins of brick pyramids. Consequently these latter pyramids are often taken for those of the Eleventh Dynasty kings, when as a matter of fact they date from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties. Regarding the Intef Pyramids there is another correction to be made. The small brick pyramid published by Maspero from a drawing by Prisse, as that of an Eleventh Dynasty Intef in Dra' Abu'l Naga, now destroyed,⁴ in reality is a Saïte pyramid still existing near the Mentuemhat pylons in the Assâsif (Fig. 5). It is shown as sketched by

¹ *Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 309, 506.

² *Karte der west. Umgebung von Luksor und Karnak*, Berlin, 1909.

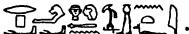
³ Petrie, *Qurneh*, pp. 2 ff. He published no map of these excavations, but Mr. Mackay, who was with him at the time, has kindly pointed out to me the locations of "Cemeteries A and B," and told me that the Stela of Zari came from the former.

⁴ In the *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 459, and most recently in *Art in Egypt*, Fig. 178. It is planned and the site correctly given in *L.D.*, I, 94.

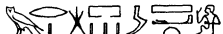

Prisse and as photographed recently, in Fig. 2, and the details are so much alike in both illustrations that it is impossible to doubt their identity.

The evidence on which the cemetery in the plain beyond Old Kurneh is dated to the early Eleventh Dynasty is comprised in a series of grave stelae now in the museums in Cairo, Europe, and America. Below I have drawn up a list of those stelae of which I know, and regarding which there are reasonable grounds for believing that they came from this site, marking with an asterisk (*) those of which the finding-place is certain. The stelae are of limestone, rectangular in shape, and were probably let into the tomb façades. In style of sculpture they present such strong similarities to the contemporary work from Denderah that they are evidently from the same school of art—labored and painstaking in the execution of details, but clumsy and crude in the conception of form. It is a style which lasts until the reign of Mentuhotep II, but which was largely outgrown under his successor.¹

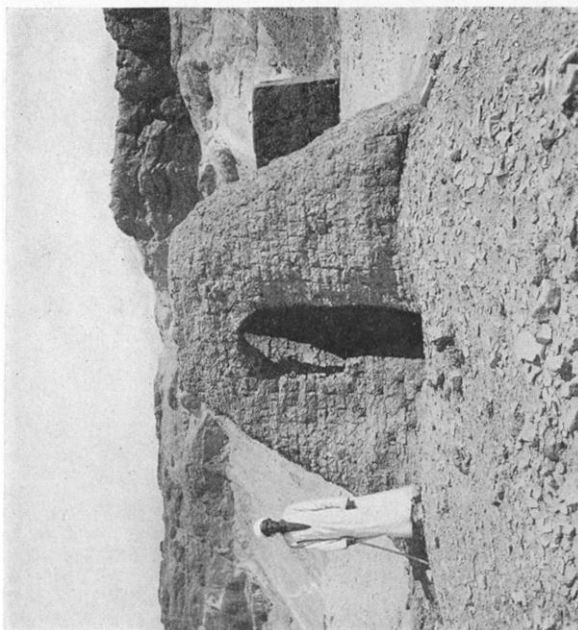
Early Period

- (1) *Nomarch Intef*: . Found by Mariette, it is said "in Dra' Abu'l Naga," but probably in the neighborhood in which No. 4 was discovered; now in Cairo. Published by Lange and Schäfer, *Grabsteine*, 20009; Mariette, *Mon. divers*, Pl. 50b; Maspero, *Guide*, and *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 115; and *B.A.R.*, I, § 419.

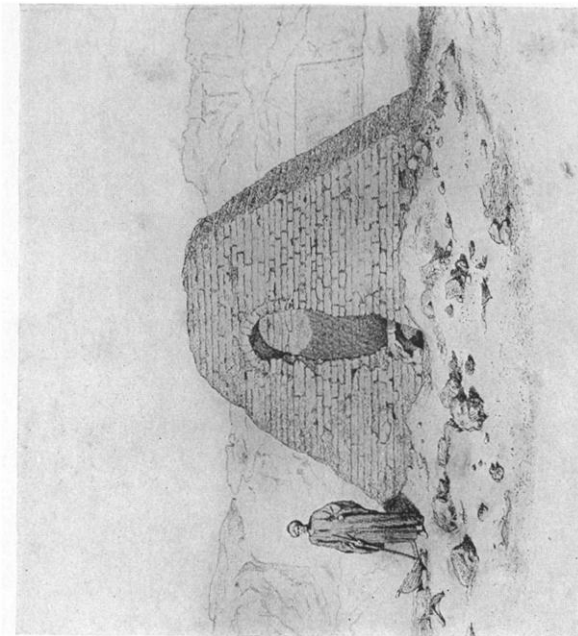
Period of Intef son of Ikui

- *(2) *Maat*: . Found by natives in the Intef Cemetery, and procured with No. 8; now in the Metropolitan Museum, 14.2.7. Shortly to be published in this journal.
- (3) *Intef*: . Stela bought in Luxor in 1895; now in Strassburg, No. 345. Published by Spiegelberg, *Grabsteine aus suddeutschen Sammlungen*, No. 18, and *Ä.Z.*, 1912, p. 119.

¹ With the Denderah sculpture published by Petrie, *Denderah*, and the Intef Cemetery stelae, compare the sarcophagus of Kaut of the period of Mentuhotep II (Naville, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. XIX), and contrast the Mentuhotep III sculptures (*ibid.*).





A. After a photograph taken in 1914



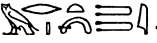
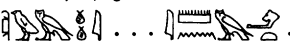
B. After Prisse d'Avenues, *L'Art égyptien*, I, Pl. 46

FIG. 2.—Sâte Pyramid in the Assâf which has sometimes been supposed to be a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty



Reign of Intef I

- * (4) *Horus Wah-ankh Intef-o I*: . Originally found by Mariette in 1860, later refound by Maspero in 1882 and by Daressy in 1888 at the point marked "Intef I, stela," on the map, Fig. 1 (see above, p. 12); now in Cairo. Published by Mariette, *Mon. div.*, Pl. 49; Lange and Schäfer, *ibid.*, 20512, and *B.A.R.*, I, § 421.
- * (5) *Zari*: . Two stelae—one with offering and one with biographical inscription; found by Petrie in his Cemetery "A"; now in Cairo; published by Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 3, p. 16 (Walker), and Pls. II and III.
- * (6) Found by natives in the Intef Cemetery; now in the Metropolitan Museum, 13.182.3. Shortly to be published in this journal.

Reign of Intef II

- * (7) *Thethi*: . Stela, tomb door-jambs and lintel found by natives in the Intef Cemetery;¹ now in British Museum, No. 100. Published in *B.M. Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, Pls. XLIX–LII; *Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, Pl. IV, and *B.A.R.*, I, § 423.
- * (8) *Amenemhat*: . Found by natives in the Intef Cemetery; now in the Metropolitan Museum, 14.2.6. Shortly to be published in this journal.

Reign of Mentuhotep I

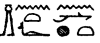
- (9) *Kawer Intef*: . Bought in Luxor and said to be from Qurneh (*B.M. Guide, Sculpture*, p. 39); now in British Museum, No. 99. Published in *B.M. Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, 53.
- * (10) *Henun*: . Found by natives in the Intef Cemetery (called Dra' Abu'l Naga); now in Cairo, Livre d'entrée 34346. Published by Gauthier, *Bull. Inst. franç.*, V, 39, and Sethe, *Ä.Z.*, 1905, p. 132.

¹ Pier, who copied the stela in Luxor, was told it came from Dra' Abu'l Naga (*Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, XXI, 159), and I have recently heard very circumstantial statements, by those who seemed to recall its discovery, that it came from the Intef Cemetery. In *B.M. Guide, Sculpture*, p. 30, Qurneh is given as the finding-place, but *Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, p. 16, gives "Karnak," which is highly improbable.

Reign of Mentuhotep II


- *(11) Found by Daressy in the Intef Cemetery; now in Cairo. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, VIII, 242.

Reign of Mentuhotep III

- *(12) *Intef-nekht*: . Found by Daressy in the Intef Cemetery; now in Cairo. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, VIII, 244.

Not dated by a king's name

- *(13) Probably of the reign of Intef II; fragments of stelae which I procured in tomb "C" of Fig. 4.


- (14) *Intef son of Maït*: .

A. Stela with biographical inscription; known to have come from the left bank at Thebes about 1895, probably from Intef Cemetery (Steindorff, *Ä.Z.*, 1895, p. 81); now in Berlin. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, IX, 150; Lange, *Ä.Z.*, 1896, p. 33.

B. Found with the last (?); now in Copenhagen. Published by Lange, *Ä.Z.*, 1896, p. 25.

C. Stela with offering inscription,¹ belonging with the above (?); from Qurneh (*B.M. Guide, Sculpture*, p. 38); now in British Museum, No. 134. Published in *B.M. Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, Pl. LV.

- *(15) Fragments of two stelae found by Petrie in his Cemetery B. Published by Walker in Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 17, Pl. X.

- *(16) *Menthu-nekht*: . From the Intef Cemetery; now in Cairo. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, VIII, 246.

- *(17) From the Intef Cemetery; now in Cairo. Published by Daressy, *Annales*, VIII, 245.

Undoubtedly this list is far from exhaustive, especially for stelae not definitely dated. Thus, to take but a few examples, in Cairo there are several stelae which by style and reputed provenance are

¹ Compare the two stelae of Zari, No. 3 above—one with biographical and one with offering inscription.

in all probability from the Intef Cemetery (notably Nos. 20002-3-4-5-7, 20011, 20476, and 20505); and in Florence there are stelae said to have been procured from Dra' Abu'l Naga (Nos. 1767, 1770, 1773-74) as well as a number of early Middle Kingdom statuette bases from the same locality (Nos. 1710-17). Of complete, but uninscribed, statuettes there are two in the collection of the late Theodore M. Davis said to have been found with Stelae Nos. 2 and 8 above, and in the British Museum two statues of Mera, from Qurneh which, following the date assigned to them, could possibly have come from this vicinity.¹

In the Eleventh Dynasty the town of Thebes centered around Karnak, and the site adopted for its necropolis was the nearest stretch of desert in the vicinity. This happened to be across the river on the west bank, only 2,500 meters away, in a low gravel plain extending out north and east from the mouth of the Valley of the Kings, and here grew up a cemetery covering some 1,200 meters along the edge of the desert, and 500 to 600 meters back into it. The burials were made both in oblong pits and in rock-cut tombs. As there was no cliff at this point, the latter were made by quarrying out of the hardened gravel beds of the plain sunken forecourts some 3 or 4 meters deep, the almost vertical backs of which were the tomb façades. Access to the main chambers from the forecourt was commonly through a row of rectangular openings in the façade, which thus had the effect of being a portico, and as secondary chambers were often cut from the sides of the courts their entrances often gave the latter the appearance of being surrounded by porticoes on three sides.²

Among the hundred or more tombs of this type there are several of very large size and three gigantic ones which go by the name of *šaff* among the natives and which are prominent features of the

¹ Hall and King, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 320, where they are dated as of the Ninth Dynasty. We have no definitely dated Theban sculpture as early as this for comparison, and must turn to Denderah, where the sculpture of the whole Sixth to Eleventh Dynasty period is seen to be of an entirely different aspect. Lord Carnarvon found the bust of a very similar statue in a Mentuhotep II-III tomb overlooking the Deir el Bahri causeway, and this, I am inclined to think, is the date of the Mera statues and possibly also their finding-place. See Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Exploration*, Pl. XVIII.

² Descriptions and plans of some examples are given by Petrie in *Qurneh*. Others lie open on the site or partially occupied by modern native houses.

Wilkinson, Lepsius, and Schweinfurth maps.¹ In spite of their enormous size and the fact that they were made to accommodate a great number of independent burials, these three largest tombs are essentially similar to the other rock-cut tombs of the site. They have the same sunken courts surrounded on three sides by the portico-like entrances of chambers, but in these three instances the courts are from 60 to 70 meters wide and from 5 to 7 meters deep, with enormous mounds of gravel from their cutting piled high on either side, and in length they have grown from the smaller, and proportionately short, courts to something more like avenues of approach leading to the tombs at their ends.² Regarded as avenues it is only natural to find that all three face south of east in the general direction from which they would have been approached in coming from the town of Thebes, while many of the smaller tombs are often oriented toward these three large ones, rather than to the points of the compass or the direction of the river. On the map (Fig. 1) the axes of two of these large tombs may be compared with the arrow pointing toward the heart of Eleventh Dynasty Thebes, which must have been between the Montu Temple and the Middle Kingdom Amon Temple at Karnak.

It is natural to take these three gigantic tombs for those of the three great rulers of the middle period of the Eleventh Dynasty, a hypothesis which is confirmed by the fact that the stela of Intef I was discovered in the *şaff* to which I have given his name. The finding spot of the stela is most exactly described by Daressy³ and has been pointed out to me by some of the older peasants who seemed to remember distinctly its recovery from a now abandoned *sakkieh* pit. Very little can be gained today from a superficial examination of the site and without a thorough excavation an intelligent restoration presents evident difficulties.

In the description of the tomb of Intef I in the Abbot Papyrus the two definite facts are that there was a pyramid and a stela, but the

¹ On the last map, one of them is called "Ssaft-el-diaba" and another "Ssaft-el-leben." The term *şaff* (صَفّ plural صُفُوف), a "row," is descriptive of the "rows" of tomb entrances around the courts and the "rows" of modern houses built in them.

² The western *şaff* is about 250 meters long; the modern Fadliyah Canal cuts across the other two in such a way that their lengths cannot be determined.

³ *Annales*, XII, 65, n. 1. See *x* marked "stela" in the map, Fig. 1, above.

exact arrangement of the two appears to be left in some obscurity. One has little better fortune with the description of the tomb in his day given by Mariette in a letter to Birch:¹

La tombe où la Stèle a été trouvée existe encore à Drah-abou'l-neggah. Elle est située plus près du Nil que de la montagne et juste à la lisière des terres cultivées. Elle consiste en une pyramide de briques crues qui n'a pas dû avoir plus d'une quinzaine de mètres de base. Au centre et dans le massif de cette pyramide est une chambre dont le fond était occupé par le Stèle en question. Cette chambre avait une porte parfaitement visible du dehors, et dans l'antiquité on la visitait par conséquent quand on voulait.

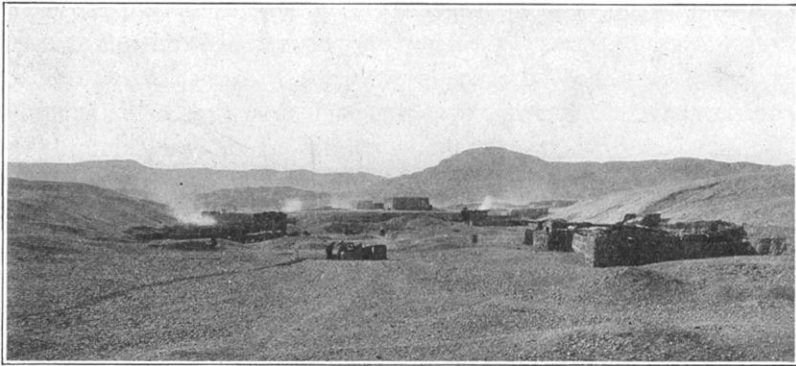


FIG. 3.—The tomb of Intef I. From the modern canal bank, looking up the axis of the sunken court. The finding-place of the Intef I Stela in 1882 was near the right foreground; on either side are seen the Arab houses in the entrances of tombs, and beyond, below the square house, mounds of ancient brick in front of the principal tomb façade.

Mais ce qui était caché, c'est la chambre mortuaire proprement dite. La pyramide étant construite sur le roc, c'est dans le roc qu'a été creusée la tombe et que se trouve la chambre où repose la momie. Je ne l'ai pas trouvée. La pyramide, en effet, n'est pas orientée. D'un autre côté l'entrée du couloir qui conduit à la chambre peut se rencontrer au sud, au nord, à l'est, à l'ouest, et même assez loin du monument. Il faut dire aussi que ce qui reste de la pyramide se trouve enclavé dans une propriété particulière. Je n'ai donc pu faire sur la pyramide que des tentatives d'autant moins sérieuses que je n'avais aucune règle pour me guider, ni aucun précédent à suivre.²

¹ *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, IV, 193. The tomb was already in a ruined condition when visited by the Ramesside inspectors 3,000 years ago (Pap. Abbot, II, 1. 9).

² Additional details are given in Mariette's "Lettre à De Rougé," *Revue Arch.* (1860), II, 29: "... la porte donnait accès dans une couloir qui lui-même conduisait à une chambre dans laquelle la momie a été déposée" (a view he changed when he wrote to

Today there remain in the back part of the *šaff* court some mounds of decayed mud brick (behind the well in the center of Fig. 3) which seem to occupy the position of the pyramid, so far as can be judged. Now, returning to our conception of the *šaff* as an enormously enlarged portico tomb, the entrance to the burial chambers should be in the center of the back façade of the court, in this case behind the pyramid and not beneath it, where Mariette so vainly searched. This brings us into a close parallel with types of tombs employed two or three generations later at Thebes—the royal tomb situated behind the pyramid at Deir el Baḥri and the private tombs in the cemetery surrounding the latter, with small pyramid-roofed chapels at the bottom of the approaches, below and in front of the tomb doors. Following this line of reasoning we must suppose the pyramid of Intef I to have been one of very acute angle mounted on a rectangular base in which was the chamber door described by Mariette.¹ As the tomb entrances at the back of the court were those of the royal tomb, the entrances at the sides, either singly or in groups of two or more, were those of the tombs of such nobles or courtiers as were buried in immediate proximity to the king and did not have separate tombs outside. This much is fairly certain from the recovery of the fragments of Stela No. 13 above, in the tomb marked C in the adjoining *šaff* (Fig. 4).

The westernmost *šaff* gives us no help in restoring the tomb type. It seems indeed to be unfinished, but there is a very suggestive feature in the easternmost, marked Intef II in Fig. 1. At the center of the back of the court there is a projecting façade with a very noticeable batter and a row of tomb entrances descending into it on an angle (A-B in Fig. 4), contrasting with the walls on either side which rise almost vertically and are pierced with horizontal openings. Occupying the position it does in the center of the main façade, this must mark the position of the royal tomb, in appearance strongly reminiscent of the brick façade of the tomb of Dagi.² There is a possibility,

Birch); and in Maspero's text to *Monuments divers*, p. 15: "Une porte s'ouvrait en face de la stèle et donnait accès à cette chapelle: les traces d'un crépi blanc sans peintures ni inscription d'aucune sorte étaient encore visibles sur les murailles."

¹ Compare the tombs in the familiar scenes of the Hathor cow descending from the Deir el Baḥri cliff. The pyramids, commonly shown at the base of the cliffs as a characteristic of the locality, were very likely those of the great M.K. tombs in these cliffs.

² Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXIX.

which I advance with caution, that this projecting façade was the front of the platform on which stood the pyramid of Intef II and was thus the prototype of the platform on which stands the pyramid at Deir el Bahri.

With the tomb of Intef I established by the discovery of his stela, I should assign the adjoining *şaff* to his son Intef II, for I have reason to believe, but no definite proof, that Stela No. 8 came from the tomb C of Fig. 4. This would leave the largest *şaff*, the unfinished one to the southwest, for the third king of the middle period,

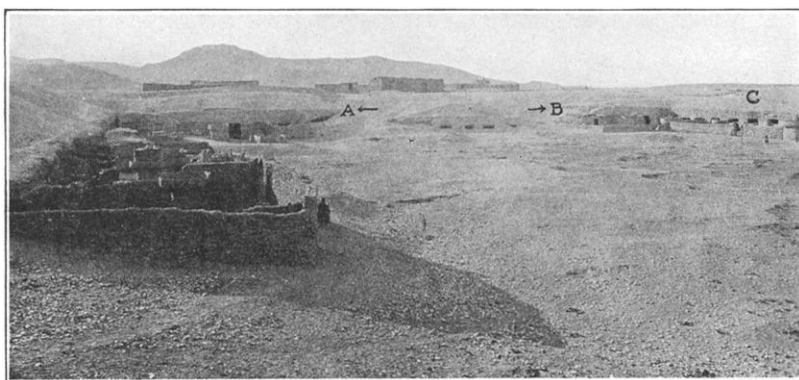


FIG. 4.—The tomb of Intef II. From the modern canal bank looking into the sunken court. Entrances to tombs, some occupied by modern houses, can be seen around three sides; A-B is the projecting façade of the main tomb; C is the entrance to the tomb in which were found the stela No. 13 and possibly Stela No. 8.

Mentuhotep I, and would fit in excellently with Petrie's theory that the earliest private tombs occupied the north and eastern parts of the cemetery and the latest those south and west.¹ The tombs of the nomarchs of the first period should be looked for, then, somewhere north of the tombs of Intef I and II.

How late the southern end of the cemetery continued to be used is shown by the fact that some members of the richer classes were buried there in the reign of Mentuhotep III when the kings and most of the nobles were making their tombs at Deir el Bahri. Moreover it is practically certain that the poorer classes were still buried in this

¹ See Petrie, *Qurneh*, pp. 2 ff. The only documentary dating he had was from the Eleventh Dynasty, but on archaeological grounds he believed some of the earliest burials in Cemetery "A" went back to the Eighth Dynasty and the latest in "B" down to the Twelfth Dynasty.

part of the cemetery well into the Middle Kingdom, for there is no trace of them in the later Eleventh Dynasty cemeteries, and here, in his "Cemetery B," Petrie found pits as late as the Twelfth Dynasty. From the southern end of the Intef Cemetery these later burials spread to the other side of the mouth of the Valley of the Kings as far south as the site of the later Nebunnef Chapel, and here and there across the plain to the foot of Dra' Abu'l Naga.


THE MENTUHOTEP II AND III CEMETERY

We are much better off as regards published material for the next period of the Eleventh Dynasty Necropolis than we were for the beginning, or will be for the end. Some of the Middle Kingdom tombs overlooking the Assâsîf were opened by Lepsius; Maspero dug in the tombs of Dagi and Horhotep, and recently others have been cleared by Lord Carnarvon on the one side of the valley, and by the Metropolitan Museum on the other. Of the Mentuhotep Temple an important part, the Bab el Ḥosan, was discovered by Carter. Later the temple proper was found and cleared for the Egypt Exploration Fund by Naville and his collaborators who, however, fell into an error on the order of Mentuhotep II and Mentuhotep III and who did not grasp the fact that the so-called "kas-sanctuary" behind the temple was in reality the tomb of the second of them. Borchardt afterward corrected these two points and finally, in the winter of 1912-13, the causeway was found and the clearing of it started by the Metropolitan Museum.¹

With the change in the fortunes of the Theban dynasty, from that of petty kings in Upper Egypt only, to rulers of the whole country, there came a change in the location and character of the necropolis. Mentuhotep II's ambitions were aroused to surpass the monuments of his predecessors, and he saw in the Assâsîf-Deir el Baḥri valley a chance to employ the natural features of the landscape to reproduce the *ṣaff* on a gigantic scale. A point at the base of the cliffs was chosen for the pyramid and tomb to which it was possible to construct, with the least cutting and filling, an avenue about 80 meters wide, leading from the direction in which one would

¹ For the Bab el Ḥosan see Carter in *Annales*, II, 201; for the temple see Naville, etc., *XIth Dyn. Temple at Deir el Baḥari*, and Borchardt, "Die Totentempel der Pyramiden," in *Zeit. für Gesch. der Architektur*, III, 82. For the short preliminary account of the finding of the causeway see the *Bulletin of the Met. Mus. of Art*, N. Y., IX, 12.

approach from the town at Karnak.¹ As yet it cannot be said whether this avenue started from a valley temple, but enough has already been found to show that it ascended from the cultivation between rows of tamarisk trees and of Osiride statues of the king, and boundary walls of limestone.² It was an open avenue rather than a roofed-in passage causeway of the Old Kingdom type, because the models on which it was planned were the elongated open courts of the *šaffs*. The avenue ended at a large court, on the farther side of which stood a pyramid upon a raised platform that projected into the court, and which was fronted with a colonnade, at least by the reign of Mentuhotep III if not from the beginning. The members of the *harîm* of Mentuhotep II were buried under small mastabas, like shrines, on top of the platform behind the pyramid. Whatever else may have been in the original plan of Mentuhotep II was lost in the changes and enlargements made by Mentuhotep III when he constructed his tomb in the same monument. So extensive were these alterations that the name of Mentuhotep II was left on practically nothing but the shrines, and as time went on the name of his successor became the only one associated with the temple. On the top of the platform, around the pyramid, Mentuhotep III built a hall of columns, one wall of which was constructed right over the backs of the shrine-like tombs of the princesses. Behind the pyramid the platform was cut back into the cliff to make room for a peristyle court in which was the entrance to his tomb, and behind this again, a hypostyle hall in which was placed the altar for his cultus.³

¹ There is no reason to suppose that there was any necropolis at this spot before the foundation of the temple, with which the name  must, therefore, have originated. See Hall in the *XIth Dyn. Temple*, I, pp. 10-11, and Naville, *ibid.*, III, p. 1. If the orientation of the avenue to the general direction of Karnak had not been thought necessary, a better line for it would have been from its actual starting-point near the cultivation to the site of the Hatshepsut Temple. By choosing this last point for the pyramid an economy in cutting and filling on the avenue could have been effected, but the line of the latter would not have approached so closely the direction of the town (see map, Fig. 1). The position of the pyramid and avenue was a compromise which had a curious effect on the axes throughout the entire structure. The axis of the avenue lies north of that of the court; the axis of the court lies north of that of the platform; and the axis of the platform lies north of that of the pyramid and the temple.

² This was the plan as finished—probably by Mentuhotep III—but some such general scheme must have been in view from the beginning.

³ Borchardt's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 83), that the "Totentempel liegt nicht vor, sondern um die Pyramide herum," does not exactly describe the case if there were two builders, as he believes. Mentuhotep III's temple really lies behind the pyramid, and where Mentuhotep II's temple may have been we cannot say. At least it did not include the hall of columns around the pyramid, for that is of the later reign.

The difficulty in understanding the Deir el Bahri Temple lies in the question of its plan and the location of its burial place in the Mentuhotep II period, the existence of which is demonstrated by the shrines. The logical place to expect the original tomb is behind the pyramid, if we follow the apparent precedent of the Intef I reconstruction above, but the tomb behind the pyramid seems to have belonged to the second building period. If we follow the possible precedent supplied by the Intef II tomb, with the pyramid on a platform at the back of the court, the burial chamber should then be entered from the court in front of the pyramid. A seeming justification for this view is supplied by the Bab el Hosan, which is the tomb of a King Mentuhotep,¹ with its opening in the court on a line with the axis of the avenue, and its passage leading in such a direction as to bring the burial chamber approximately under the pyramid. Borchardt has suggested that this is in fact the tomb of Mentuhotep II, but on the other hand it must be remembered that the tomb, although unplundered when found by Carter, contained no body, but only an empty coffin and a statue, wrapped in linen, of the king wearing the Sed Jubilee costume and the crown of the North. The question arises, therefore, as to whether this was an actual burial place arranged by Mentuhotep II for the reception of his body, which from unforeseen circumstances was buried elsewhere, or whether it was a tomb connected with the Sed Jubilee which his successor presumably celebrated in his thirtieth year.²

Whatever may have been the history of the Deir el Bahri Temple, there can be no doubt in my mind that the prototypes from which it was derived should be looked for in the *safts* and not in the Old Kingdom pyramid temples. Throughout the Eleventh Dynasty the Thebans clung to and developed local traditions, little influenced by the Memphite architecture which was probably still unfamiliar to them.³

¹ Attempts to read any pronomen of the Mentuhotep whose name occurs on the furniture in the grave have proved unsuccessful. See Naville, *A. Z.*, 1910, pp. 82 ff.

² This suggestion has been made frequently, among others by Maspero, *Guide*, 1908, p. 99, and Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 6, where a possible jubilee cenotaph of S-ankh-ka-re is described.

³ Almost all of the nine points of difference which Borchardt notes between the Mentuhotep Temple and the Memphite ones can be explained by reference to the Intef Cemetery. Other evidence that Upper Egypt was a more or less independent cultural area during the period between the Sixth and Twelfth dynasties is supplied by the

If we look on the Deir el Bahri Temple as a tremendously enlarged *ṣaff*, we can see another point of resemblance in the surrounding cemetery. Instead of the private tombs being clustered around the pyramid as at Gizeh, Abusir, or Lisht, they extend in two long rows on either side of the causeway like the tombs at the sides of the *ṣaff* courts. Within, and close around the temple, were the tombs of the women of the royal house.¹ Those cut high up on the slopes just under the cliffs facing the causeway were the tombs of the great nobles. Some of them had little chapels at the foot of the slope,² and all of them had broad approaches like that of the temple itself, bounded by brick or stone walls, leading up to the entrance. Inside, a long, wide, and lofty corridor³ ran to a square room from which descended the passage to the burial chamber. Some forty of these big corridor tombs which stand open today can be assigned to the cemetery of the Mentuhotep II-III Temple. On the north side of the causeway, starting at Deir el Bahri, there are thirteen in a row extending along the cliff to those of Meru and Horhotep (see Fig. 5). Beyond, in less regular order, are scattered those excavated by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter, and below these, the tombs of the Intef and the somewhat later Mentuhotep of the Berlin Museum.⁴ On

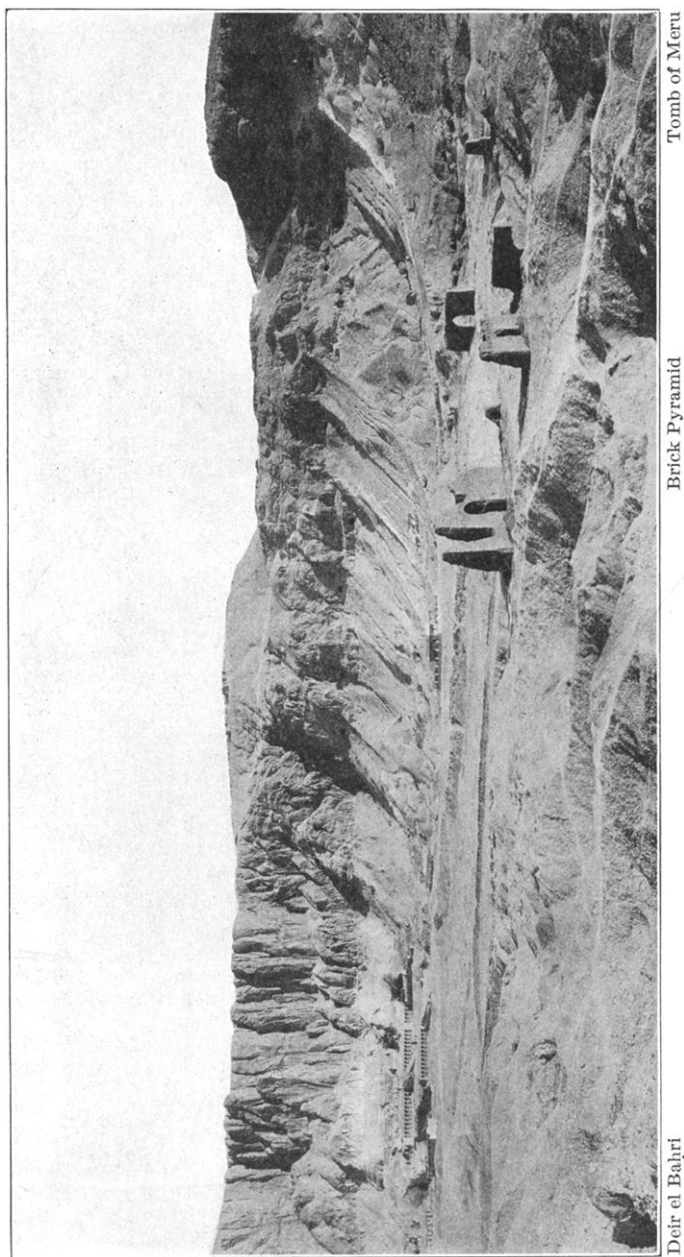
coffins (see Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi* [in press], p. 50). Even under Amenemhat I some trace of Theban influence persisted in his pyramid which was built upon a platform above the court in which his temple stood, but under Sesostri I the Memphite plan was readopted in its entirety (see *Bull. Met. Mus. of Art*, X, 2, suppl., Fig. 3).

¹ For burials inside the inclosure see *XIth Dyn. Temple*, I, p. 43. The tomb of a Queen Tmum in this vicinity is noted by Maspero, *Ā.Z.*, 1883, p. 77, and *Trois Années de Fouilles*, p. 134, and by Naville, *XIth Dyn. Temple*, II, p. 3. Just outside, under the Hatshepsut Temple, are the tombs of Queen Neferu, discovered by Ebers in 1873 (see Maspero, *Rec. Trav.*, III, 201, and Naville, *Ā.Z.*, 1912, p. 14); and of Amenet, priestess of Hathor (see Daressy, *Rec. Trav.*, XIV, 166, and *Annales*, I, 141, and Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28025). Naville takes the Queen Neferu as the mother of the much earlier Intef I. Aside from the question of date, the phrase , following the name of Intef I in several cases, is an epithet applied to Intef II also on Stela No. 7, and is therefore probably not the name of the mother in either case.

² One such has been found by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter.

³ This corridor is the distinctive characteristic of the M.K. tombs at Thebes. Typical Empire tombs have a chamber just inside the entrance.

⁴ For Meru see Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, No. 240, and *L.D.*, II, 148*cd*, Text III, p. 241. The stela of a Meru of the reign of Mentuhotep III is in Turin, No. 1447. For Horhotep see Maspero, *Trois Années de Fouilles*, p. 134, and *Guide*. Carnarvon's tombs are described in *Five Years' Explorations in Thebes*, pp. 22 ff. The positions of the tombs of the Intef found by Lepsius and the Mentuhotep found by Passalacqua are mentioned in *L.D.*, III, 242. The latter is described in Passalacqua, *Catalogue des antiquités*, pp. 117 and 144.



Deir el Bahri
Brick Pyramid
Tomb of Meru

FIG. 5.—Eleventh Dynasty tombs in the Deir el Bahri Cliff. In the right foreground are the pylons of Saite tombs, among which can be seen the small brick pyramid of Fig. 2. In the cliff above are the entrances to Eleventh Dynasty tombs with the walls of their approaches extending in diagonal lines down the talus slope.

the opposite side of the causeway, the tombs run from the western extremity of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, along the crest of the hill to those of Dagi and Sebeknekht;¹ below these last there are two others on the level of the modern tourist road, and then the line continues along the north side of the foothill on which Mond's house stands, to the Khôkheh. The largest tombs, at the upper end of the causeway, overlooking the temple in the most desirable positions, belonged to the great nobles of the reigns of Mentuhotep II and III. The more easterly, smaller, and less well-situated tombs were those of the lesser people, or, like the Mentuhotep of Berlin, date from the slightly later period, about the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.

THE MENTUHOTEP IV AND V CEMETERY

So far we have been able to depend to a certain extent upon published excavations in tracing the location and character of the Eleventh Dynasty cemeteries, but I do not know of any description of tomb material from the Theban Necropolis, dated on documentary evidence to the last two reigns of the dynasty.

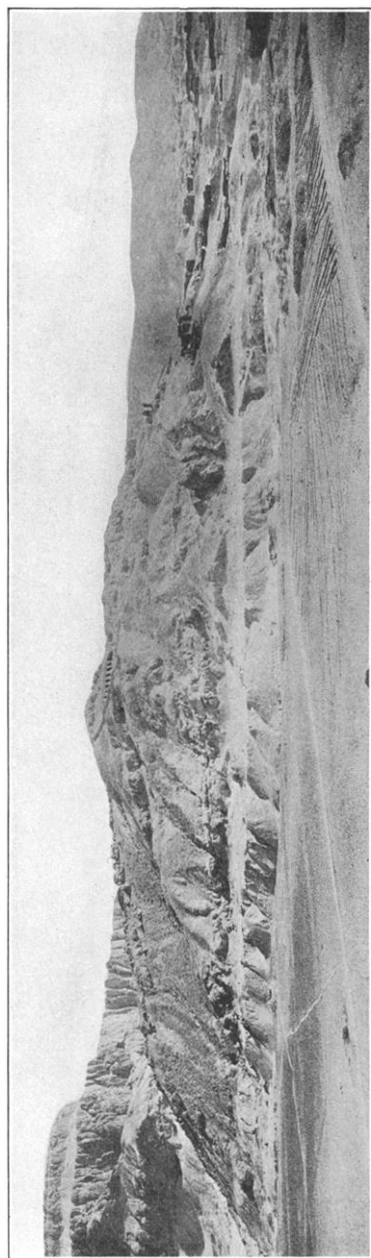
It is known that as early as his second year, Neb-tau-re Mentuhotep IV sent an expedition of 10,000 men out to the Wadi Hammamat to quarry stone for his sarcophagus,² and it is reasonable to suppose that he intended, at least, to construct a tomb for himself comparable to those of his predecessors, and that, even if he did not live to complete it, his successor S-ankh-ka-re Mentuhotep V would either have continued it, or would have started a new mausoleum for himself. I see no reason why we should suppose that these two kings were not buried in Thebes,³ and therefore we ought to find traces of their tombs somewhere in this Necropolis. The Nebhepet-re Temple at Deir el Bahri, its causeway, and the surrounding cemetery would have been the models followed, and something like them should be looked for.

I believe that the remains of such a structure can be recognized just south of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh among the Middle Kingdom

¹ Both recently cleared by the Metropolitan Museum. The tomb of Dagi (Gardiner and Weigall, No. 103) is described by Davies in *Five Theban Tombs* (Arch. Survey, XXI), pp. 28 ff. Of this series of tombs, that of Dagi alone has a portico façade, but it must not be supposed that this is an innovation suggested by the temple of Deir el Bahri, but rather as a continuation of the Intef Cemetery type of tomb.

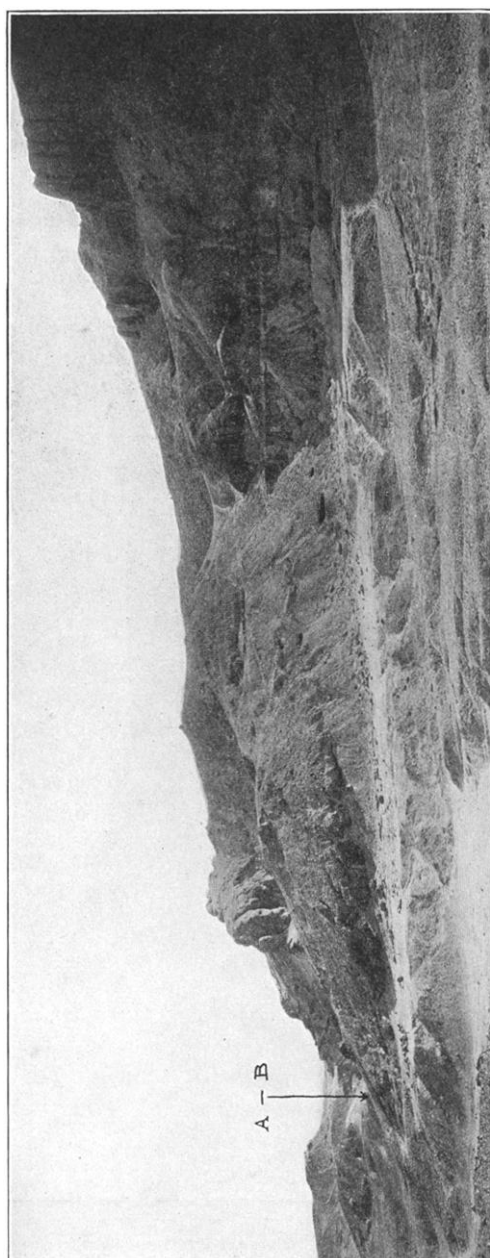
² *B.A.R.*, I, §§ 451, 453.

³ As suggested by Naville, *A.Z.*, 1910, p. 88.



Large portico tomb

FIG. 6.—Terrace along southwest side of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh hill. View taken from near the German House. The terrace can be seen as a white zone near the base of the hill, outlined below by the rounded chip heaps that are so strongly contrasted with the rugged natural formations above. FIG. 9 was taken from the extreme left of the picture.



Sloping causerway

Level platform

FIG. 7.—Upper Terrace behind Sheikh Abd el Kurneh. The scale can be judged from the horseman—a mere speck in the shadow below the cliff on the right. A-B is the rock-cutting shown in detail in FIG. 9.

tombs which line both sides of the wadi that descends to the Ramesseum. Any one passing the German House in the direction of Deir el Medīneh may have noticed a terrace about 7 or 8 meters high, and in places as much as 50 meters wide, cut along the entire southwest side of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh (see Fig. 6). If prolonged to the southeast, the line of the terrace should meet the cultivation edge near the south side of the Ramesseum, but on the lower ground behind the latter all trace of it is now lost. On the west side of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh (at C on the map, Fig. 1) the terrace is abruptly cut across by the water-course which descends from the north, but beyond it is continued by a similar terrace on the north side of a spur of the mountain. Both terraces ascend at a uniform slope of 1 in 25 to a point where the upper one ends in a level platform at the base of the cliff (see Fig. 7).¹ They are not the results of natural erosion for even a superficial examination shows that they are artificial benches cut into the limestone of the hillsides and broadened with the chip quarried out. The artificial character of the whole formation is plainly evident in the even stratified layers of this chip, lying as they do at the angle of rest of dumped material (see Fig. 8). In the cutting and grading of these two terraces from 70 to 80 thousand cubic meters of limestone were moved, but even with the expenditure of this enormous effort the undertaking was never finished. On the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh terrace there remain isolated knobs of still unquarried rock; the cut sides of the terraces were never brought into absolutely regular line, and the water-course does not seem to have been filled across. That it was intended to fill the dry wadi—for I do not believe it would have occurred to them to construct a culvert—and bring the two terraces into alignment is shown by the rock-cutting in Fig. 9. The photograph was taken from the northwest end of the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh terrace looking across the water-course. The foreground to the right, "D," is entirely artificial. "A" and "C" are the two sides of the upper terrace (see the same letters on the map, Fig. 1, and in Fig. 7) and "A"—"B" is the cutting where they

¹ The terraces are the shaded areas on the map above, Fig. 1. They are best studied on Sheets 20 and 31 of Baraize, *Carte des Necropoles Thebaines*, by following the 96-106 and 112-116 meter contour lines. Sheet 19, which will show the top platform, is not yet published.

had begun to remove the spur of the mountain in order to bring the inner side of this upper terrace in line with the outer side of the lower terrace, and to provide material for filling the water-course. The

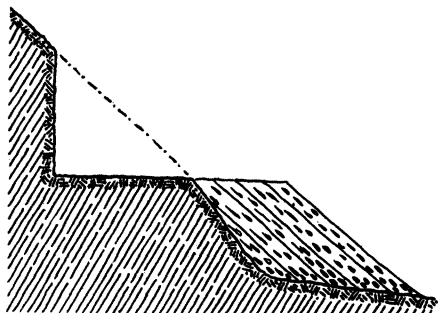


FIG. 8.—Diagrammatic section of the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh Terrace, showing the rock-cutting on the left and the stratified chip heaps on the right.

whole locality remains just as the Eleventh Dynasty workmen left it, except for some slight erosion from infrequent rain storms, and in the photograph, Fig. 9, between A and B, one can see the little ridges of rock dividing the work of the ancient quarrymen one from another.

So far as can be judged from their present state, these terraces must have been intended as parts of a causeway about 1,200 meters long and 80 meters wide, leading up from the cultivation to the broad, level platform under the cliff. Comparison of these facts with Deir el Bahri immediately suggests that the platform was intended for an open court, a temple, pyramid, and royal tomb of the Neb-hepet-re type. The grading of the causeway having been left unfinished, there are naturally no structural traces of the avenue to be discovered, nor is it probable that any extensive remains of the pyramid and temple would be found on the platform for the same reason. At least there are no evidences of them on the surface, and in a small excavation conducted on this spot several years ago Mond found but one fragment of relief, but he did discover an Eleventh Dynasty tomb with six small pits in front of it, at the back of the platform, under the foot of the cliff.¹ The tomb consists of a sloping passage leading to a lined chamber with a gabled roof, and while it does not seem to have been actually a king's tomb, it must have been that of a personage of the high rank of those buried beside Mentuhotep III in his hypostyle hall. So much is in close conformity with the Neb-hepet-re type that I believe that the royal tomb, which would have been the first part of the structure finished,

¹ See Mond in *Annales*, VI, 77.

is very likely near by, buried under the débris fallen from the cliff, at the back of the platform.

To sum up, southwest of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh we appear to have the beginnings of another structure of the Mentuhotep Deir el Bahri type—a broad avenue leading up to the site of a mortuary

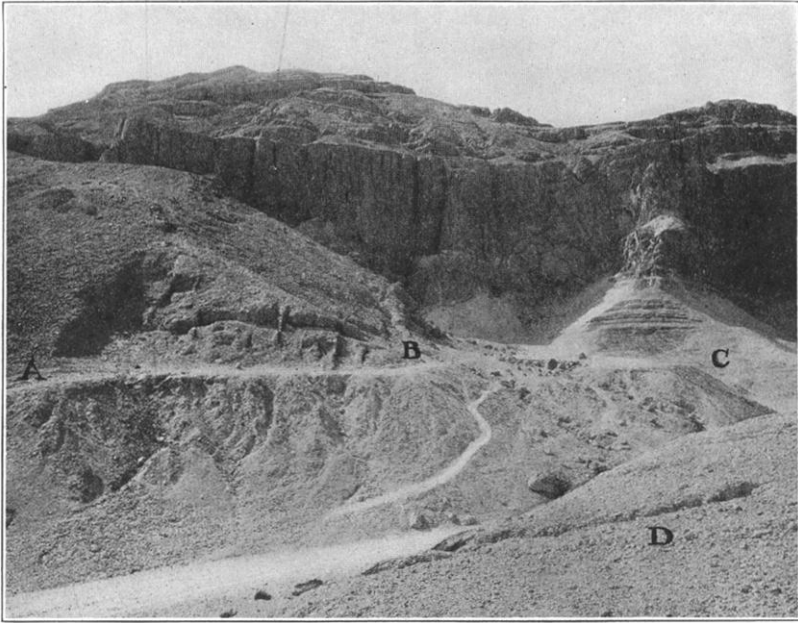


FIG. 9.—Rock-cutting on the Upper Terrace. Taken from the upper end of the Sheikh Abd el Kurneh terrace, of which D is part. A-B is the rock-cutting where the quarrymen were removing the spur of the hill, and B-C part of the already completed terrace. Between A and B can be seen the ridges of rock left by each workman between his cutting and his neighbor's.

temple where burial places of the Eleventh Dynasty have already been found. Further similarities are furnished by the surrounding cemetery in a remarkably clear manner, for from some as yet unexplained reason this section of the Theban necropolis was occupied only during the Eleventh Dynasty, the few tombs in it were never altered, and no later ones added, and the whole landscape, even to the original chip heaps of the early quarrymen, was left undisturbed and unchanged except by nature.

Corridor tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty type face down on the temple site and on the causeway just as they do at the Neb-hepet-re Temple. Starting high up on the northern spur which bounds the circus chosen for the temple platform, there are three large tombs.¹ Immediately opposite, on the westernmost point of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, there begins a line of about a dozen others cut just under the crest of the hill all along its southwestern side as far as the present inclosure wall of the Service des Antiquités, and within the inclosure, directly below the highest point of the hill, there is a very large portico tomb facing east, parallel with the causeway.² This and another large tomb of similar plan across the causeway on the eastern side of Kurnet Murra'i³ are very likely the tombs of Wazirs like Dagi. Near the Coptic monastery on top of Kurnet Murra'i and westward along the northern slope of the hill, there are unfinished courtyards, and in the low-lying hill north of Deir el Medīneh three tombs of the corridor type. Finally, high up on the spur of the mountain in which the upper terrace is cut, there are three tombs south of the temple platform, corresponding to the first three which we described on the north. All of these tombs conform to the types of the Mentuhotep II-III Cemetery. If, as seems to be the case, they present some modifications in plan, such can only be determined after a more detailed study of them than I have made. Even going through them hastily, though, one can see that the majority were never finished and that when work was abandoned on the temple and its causeway, it was stopped on the private tombs as well. Thus on the Kurnet Murra'i side only the forecourts were begun in some cases; the corridors of others on Sheikh Abd el Kurneh were cut in only a few meters and were then left so incomplete that they never

¹ Two were found by Daressy in 1895 and described in the *Annales*, II, 133. See Baraize, *Carte*, Sheet 9. See also the article by Mond, *Annales*, VI, 77, where an account is given of the clearing of a large "court" below Daressy's tombs. In reality this "court" is the lower end of the causeway belonging to the tombs above.

² This tomb is about the largest in Sheikh Abd el Kurneh, and is a landmark even from across the river, but being undecorated it is not numbered in Gardiner and Weigall. It is shown on their Pl. III, A-B 1; on Baraize, *Carte des Necropoles*, it is at the joining point of Sheets 20-21-31-32; and in Fig. 6 of this article it is seen at the top of the hill. There is a possibility that other tombs in the neighborhood may be Eleventh Dynasty—e.g., those marked "Salim Abou Senoun" and "Abdelrassoul Ahmed" on the Baraize map.

³ Baraize, *Carte*, Sheet 53, Tomb 9, "Ahmet" and "Ali Chimi." His map shows the very characteristic M.K. plan of the subterranean parts.

could have been used as burial places, and the portico of the big tomb on the latter hill was only partially quarried out.

The fact that this temple and the surrounding cemetery were never finished is important for dating them. It must have commonly happened whenever a king died that many of his courtiers' tombs were still unfinished, but it is only natural to suppose that they would not have been abandoned, even if the owners took service with the new king, providing the latter kept the same capital and constructed his tomb in the neighborhood of that of his predecessor. Thus some of the nobles who began their tombs in the Intef Cemetery, probably in the reign of Mentuhotep I, retained them even after the royal cemetery was moved to Deir el Bahri by Mentuhotep II, and were buried in the old cemetery even as late as the reign of Mentuhotep III. Conditions here in the cemetery we have just been describing, however, are totally different, for we have signs of a wholesale abandonment of the unfinished private tombs on the death of the king. The dead king's successor, we must suppose therefore, was not buried at Thebes and the obvious conclusion is that the temple and tombs were in course of construction at the death of S-ankh-ka-re Mentuhotep V when Amenemhat I moved the capital to Lisht, started his pyramid there, and was followed by the majority of the Theban nobles.

This hypothesis leaves Neb-taui-re Mentuhotep IV alone, of all the Eleventh Dynasty kings, without a known tomb. To disregard the hypothesis and make him sole builder of the temple would leave no explanation of the abandonment of the cemetery, unless we supposed S-ankh-ka-re moved the capital before Amenemhat I. Of this we have no evidence. On the other hand there is no trace of any other late Eleventh Dynasty royal tomb in Thebes, so far as I can see, except that of Deir el Bahri and this one of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh,¹ and as there is nothing to make us suppose that Neb-taui-re

¹ The only piece of work at Thebes I know of, comparable to the *gaffs* and the two causeways, is the rock-cutting between Kurnet Murra'i and the cultivation, but its shape does not suggest the Eleventh Dynasty royal tombs. From northeast to southwest it is certainly more than 300 meters long, and may be as much as 450 meters if, as I believe, it can be traced to Baraize's Triangulation Point 71 (see his Sheets 53-54-61). At the north end it is at least 90 meters wide. The material excavated from it has been dumped behind it on the northeast end of Kurnet Murra'i, where it forms the long artificial tongue of gravel on which the German House is built. At present we can only say that the cutting is earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty when the temples of Merenptah and Tausert were built in it (Petrie, *Six Temples*, p. 13, noted it was earlier than Tausert).

was buried in the former, it is likely that he was buried in the latter. He probably had already begun work on this temple at the time of his Hammamat expedition when he sent for granite for his sarcophagus, and, as he probably died soon after, his successor S-ankh-ke-re Mentuhotep V, following the precedent of Mentuhotep III who continued building the temple of Mentuhotep II, carried the work on until his death when, still unfinished, it was abandoned.

TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH DYNASTY CEMETERY

The history of the Necropolis after the removal of the capital to Lisht and the establishment of the royal cemeteries in Middle Egypt is briefly told. Thebes remained the principal town of Upper Egypt and the wealth of the local notables who remained there must have been assured as long as the aggrandizement of the temples of Amon was an object of royal solicitude. If anything, the private tombs increased in size. At least one at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty—Number 60, that of Intef Aker—was cut high up in the eastern face of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh. Another burial of about the same date, the Mentuhotep of Berlin, was found toward the lower end of the Neb-hepet-re avenue, and from this time on, through the Twelfth and Thirteenth dynasties, while the Neb-hepet-re Temple was under the patronage of the reigning kings, the heart of the Necropolis was at the foot of the causeway, spreading northward along the plain.¹ Here there were no hillside tombs as in the two Mentuhotep cemeteries. Although the subterranean parts of the tombs were of the corridor types of the latter part of the Eleventh Dynasty, the cemetery as a whole seems to have reverted to the general appearance of the Intef Cemetery. The principal tombs had enormous forecourts and portico façades sunk in the plain, and

¹ One portico tomb of this cemetery has been found on the south side of the causeway (see *Bull. Met. Mus.*, IX, 16 ff.) and a few smaller tombs of the period were scattered along the first terrace of the desert plain as far south as the sites later occupied by the Thotmes III Temple and the Ramesseum (see Weigall in *Annales*, VII, 127, and plan VIII, 256, and Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pp. 3-5). The majority have been found by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter on the north side, from the site of the Hatshepsut valley temple to the "Mandara"—the area covered by the words "XII-XIII Dyn. Cemetery" on Fig. 1 (see *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, pp. 50-51-54-64, etc.). Since the publication of their book they have found a number of important new tombs. The finding-places of the early M.K. coffin of Sebek-o in Berlin (see Steindorff, *Grabfunde*), and the Cairo coffins 28028, -29, and -30, are unknown. Daressy tells me that the dealer from whom these last were bought said they came from Deir el Bahri, but Lacau in the *Sarcophages* sees reason to believe there may be some mistake and that they may not have come from Thebes at all.

the secondary burials and those of the poorer classes were in oblong pits oriented nearly north and south, scattered along the plain at the base of Dra' Abu'l Naga northward until they mingled with those of the Intef Cemetery itself.

A NOTE ON THE ABBOT PAPYRUS

The order in which the royal tombs appear in the report of the inspectors probably represents the order in which they were visited. The most important tomb, and also the most difficult of access, that of Amenhotep I up on the Dra' Abu'l Naga hill, was examined first and having been found intact it was entered in the report with its position stated as "north of the House of Amenhotep (L.P.H.) of the Garden."¹ The party then descended the hill, crossed the mouth of the Valley of the Kings and the plain in an easterly direction, and examined the tomb of Intef I, the position of which was entered by the scribe as "north of the House of Amenhotep (L.P.H.) of the Court." Here another temple must be intended surely, for the tomb of Intef I was nearer east than north from the temple of Amenhotep I and there is no reason to suppose the same temple would appear under two names in the same document, or that "north," used so exactly once, would be used so inaccurately the second time. The "Temple of Amenhotep of the Court," therefore, must have been in the cultivation on some road leading from the river to the Necropolis. The tomb of Intef I having been inspected, the party turned west, recrossed the valley mouth, and examined seven more pyramids in the plain below Dra' Abu'l Naga, we must suppose in the order in which they are entered in the procès-verbal. They then went up the Hatshepsut avenue to Deir el Bahri to inspect the tomb of Mentuhotep III which, the scribe records, "is in Zeseret"—i.e., a different part of the Necropolis from that in which the last preceding tomb was found by the inspectors. The fact that only two Eleventh Dynasty tombs were inspected leads us to suppose that they were the only ones kept up at the end of the Theban Empire, and affords another example of the veneration in which the memories of Intef I and Mentuhotep III were held by their remote descendants.

¹ The discovery of the tomb by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter (see *Jour. Eg. Arch.*, I, 216) in Dra' Abu'l Naga directly north of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep I confirms Spiegelberg's identification of the latter with the "House of Amenhotep of the Garden" (*Zwei Beiträge*, p. 1).